312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the amenokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the amenokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

361 The camp is always established rather far from the watering
312 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink
[482 every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
492] their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

682 assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known,
628 however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man
from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is
[692] no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a
[643] case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was
aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

762 /296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the
Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is
[746] abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and
abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the
Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must
never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with
oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his
life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

[775] The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever.
It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and
people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that
it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

[761] Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them
763 sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives
his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles
which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls
at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or
[29] if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger
of his right hand and breathes his last.

764 The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and
[567] wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the
slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave
is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use.
[483] The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial
417 place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side
with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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41. Gathering wood at Tizzolaïne.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



temperatures which may be below zero. At a later date the plants of wheat and barley are watered less frequently, and watering ceases completely some time before harvesting in order that the plant may ripen more easily.

The agriculturists of Ahaggar do not manure the garden plots used for wheat and barley. Only a new garden plot never previously cultivated is manured, and when such a garden is made the wild vegetation of grasses, herbs, bushes, and trees is often set on fire. Wheat and barley can be grown in the same garden plot for three or four years in succession, and the soil then needs at least one year's rest. In this way, the same garden plot can be kept under cultivation for many years without manuring; this continuous cultivation on the same spot with a one year's rest for each three or four years cultivation is possible partly because there is a certain crop rotation with other plants grown in summer, but mainly because the agriculturists during the period wheat and barley are grown carry fresh soil to their gardens. This is done not only before sowing but also throughout a long period of the winter when the plants are tender and green. When I stayed in the settlements of Abalessa and Amsel in the months of January and February (1955), all agricultural households worked strenuously from morning to night carrying soil to the green garden plots of wheat and barley. The soil was carried in plaited baskets (cf. Fig. 135) on the head, or in bigger baskets carried by donkeys. The soil was left in small heaps (one in every garden bed) to be spread over and between the green plants (cf. Fig. 137). This extremely strenuous work, I was told, would continue until the month of March.

In spite of the fact that cultivation in Ahaggar is done intensively and much work is connected with it, the yield of winter crops is not a very considerable one. In Abalessa it is said that seed-corn of wheat and barley will normally amount to about 50 kgs, and about 500 kgs is to be considered a normal yield, though certain gardens which are extremely well cultivated may yield more and in rare cases up to one thousand kilogrammes. The gardens I saw at Amsel and Tarhawhawt were smaller than those seen in Abalessa. At Tarhawhawt the quantity of wheat and barley sown, was said to amount to about 35 kilogrammes.

Fig. 134. The flat stone (*aneffi*) inserted between the water basin (*tihewt*) and the canal (*tefukawt*) which leads water towards the gardens. Irrigation stops and the basin runs full of water when a cotton stopper is put into the round hole in the middle of the flat stone. Ahaggar, *Aïl Azzi* Arabs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



243 [262] Wheat and barley grown in winter constitute the most important crops in Ahaggar, but, as mentioned, the gardens are also cultivated at other seasons, and crops of millet and sorghum taken in summer are most important substistence for irrigation farmers in Ahaggar. Millet is known to the Tuareg as [171] *énélé*; it seems to be the same species as that so widely grown by African agriculturists of the savannah [221] countries (*Pennisetum typhoideum*, or *P. Americanum*). Millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, or in October. Little work is involved with the cultivation of this plant which is never watered [461] much (cf. p. 184), and the agriculturists do not carry fresh soil to the millet plots as they do to plots of wheat and barley. Species of sorghum are less important than millet. The common species is known as [386] *abora* or *tafsut* (*Andropogon Sorghum*). Another species is known as *tallaḳ*; it has smaller seeds than the species just mentioned, and is grown mainly because of its stems, which are reduced to powder to be used for dyeing skins red (cf. p. 282).

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Fig 135. Basket (*tásrait*) of the type used for transportation of fresh soil to old garden land. It is plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*afuss*) and has handles of rope made from date palm bast (*asus*). Soil is also carried to gardens in larger baskets (*téyarirt*, pl. *tiyrar*) loaded on donkeys. Ahaggar, Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m high, 0.35 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5285).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



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Fig. 223. Skin bag (*adabas*) for transportation of personal objects on journeys. Dimension: 0.515 × 0.425 m. (N.M. G. 5238). Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tohit* tribe.